attached to the top end. Down the middle of the noose, fastened firmly to it at each end, is another string, to which the klipspringer's favorite food is attached. The trap is set when the thin end of the branch is bent down to about 1/2 a meter above the ground. The branch and the noose are tied together with a sinew string that must be especially strong as it must take the entire pull of the branch and later has to hold the caught animal. The noose is held flat on the ground by four short pegs. The klipspringer pulls up the pegs as soon as he tugs at the middle string of the noose. The branch jerks up, pulling the noose over the animal's neck and raises it into the air. It is then hanged as though on a gallows.

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Spring traps, //nū-aga, are used for catching porcupines and smaller mammals, such as mice, which are a popular food of the Bergdamaras. The setting and springing mechanism is more complicated than in the above-mentioned traps. A flat stone (a) is leaned at an angle against a bracing stick (b). This stick rests lightly on the ground. On the outermost edge of the top of the stone a wedge (c) is inserted between the stick and the stone. A little horizontal stick tipped slightly upwards (d) gives the slanted brace support on the side. One end of it is placed securely under the edge of the stone, the other extends beyond the brace. [296] The brace and the horizontal stick are pressed against each other by the !a-n(a)das- wood (e). This small piece of wood is kept in place by a taut sinew string that is tied to the wedge. [Picture. Spring trap. a) stone, b) brace, c) wedge, d) horizontal stick, e) !a-n(a)das- wood, f) bait.] As soon as the horizontal stick is knocked down by the animal getting the bait (f), the side support is removed from the brace, at the same time the !a-n(a)das- wood slips out and disturbs the precarious balance of the whole structure by moving the string on the wedge. The Bergdamaras call the little pieces of wood that are used for making spring traps °/hā/ra-s.

Capitulum IV

Social Life

A. Family

1. Establishing a Family

a) The reaching of marriageable age, when menstruation first occurs, kxara-b or /ha/ha-b, is a joyful occasion and, as the first pledge of future

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[98]

family happiness, is celebrated accordingly. The girl is separated from 88| ●
the other inhabitants of the hut by a mat wall. She puts on her jewels, [582]
relatives and friends bring her arm rings and put chains of beads around
her neck. Some of them are kept as presents. The parents slaughter and
serve honey beer to the guests.

[298] Before the Hottentots adopted European clothing the girl ex-
changed her girl's apron for that of an adult; this custom has been aban-
doned. But another custom has still been maintained here and there where
it could be concealed from the watchfulness of the mission. Males from 88|
the smallest child to the aging man (old men are excused) have their scrota 751
rubbed with herbs power as a preventative for venereal disease by the girl
menstruating for the first time. The practice of this custom is called
*/ua-ra/ra/ra-, (/ra.a/ra-b = the testicles. */ua·ra is the gentle strok-
of the cow's udder, the calf of which is dead. It is supposed to have the
effect of persuading the cow to give milk. The scrotum is rubbed just as
gently with powder.)

When the first menstruation has ended, the girl is washed by a woman 88|
from head to foot with wet cow manure (sheep manure is better) which 515
has been stirred to a thick porridge with a little milk. (cf. Care of the
Body, p. 397). This stuff is smeared on the body in the usual way and
rubbed in. It dries quickly on the warm skin and at the completion of
the cleansing falls off of its own accord.

Thus cleansed, the girl comes out of the separate room of the hut. 88|
This coming forth of the girl, *//a/ma-i (//a/m is the special term for 582
the above-described method of cleansing with manure, /a-i = to go out)
is the visible sign to all the inhabitants that the girl has reached marriageable
age. Up to the time of the first menstrual period the girl is con-
sidered a child, /gi'as. But from that time until she is married she is
called ommes (not ommis (57)).

57. J. G. Kronlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

The vanity of the girls is often employed in furthering the develop- 832
ment of their charms. The areola of the nipple is hard at the beginning 827
of puberty. A slightly stringy liquid can be squeezed out of the nipple
with sufficient pressure. When the breasts are just beginning to develop,
and the area around the nipples becomes firm, the girls squeeze out this
liquid assiduously to further development of the breasts. The liquid that
can be pressed out of the mammary glands at the time of the beginning
of puberty is called *//go-ruruheb.

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604 circumspection towards her, so his children have to treat her with the greatest deference. To them also she is *sàras* or *gei taras*. On the other hand, the relation of a man to his sister's children is one of the 604 greatest indulgence and goodwill. A boy can do almost anything at his maternal uncle's home without being blamed for it. He can take, 425 without asking, any of the specially fine animals among his uncle's herds, and the uncle has no redress but to take ugly misformed animals from his nephew's herds. This exchange, *//nâri //gab* or *//nâri //as*, is still practised by the Naman to-day. It extends over all aspects of portable property—karosses, utensils, implements, and so on, as well as livestock—and always the nephew has the privilege of helping himself to some fine specimen of any object in his uncle's possession, while the latter may only lay hands upon poor specimens, such as broken pots, tattered karosses, and other damaged objects. In no case is the exercise of this mutual exploitation regarded as abuse, however far it is carried by one partner or the other.[1]

Girls' Puberty Ceremonies

● 881 The attainment of puberty in the case of both boys and girls was marked among the Hottentots by the performance of special rites. The boys' puberty ceremonies seem now to have completely lapsed; those of the girls, on the other hand, are even to-day carefully observe damong the Naman. They were noted as far back as 1778 by Wikar,[2] and are mentioned by a number of subsequent writers,[3] but the first comprehensive account of them is contained in the recent descriptions given by Mrs. Hoernlé.[4] Her observations in most cases corroborate the more or less isolated details previously published, and show that in their main outline at least these rites have undergone hardly any significant change in the course of the last century and a half.

[145] As soon as a girl has her first period, when she is said to *khara*, which generally happens between the ages of thirteen and fifteen, she at once tells either her girl friends or some older female relatives. Through this intermediary her mother is informed. The latter then

[1] Hoernlé, *op. cit.*, 22–3; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 25; Wanderer, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 315–16; Schultze, *op. cit.*, 305.

[2] "Beitge aus dem Hauen von Pfannenberg," 99–100.

[3] Alexander, *Expedition into the Interior of Africa*, I, 169; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 327; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 371; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 103; Schinz, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 395–7; Vedder, "The Nama," 156.

[4] "The Conception of Birth among the Hottentots," 70–4; Idem, "Social Value of Water among the Namas," 519–26.

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gets her married sisters and her brothers' wives to make a little mat enclosure, *kharu oms*, inside at the back of the family hut, on the left hand side. This enclosure is a screened-off segment, measuring two to three feet across at its widest point, in the least regarded part of the hut; and it always has its own little opening leading out behind the hut. While it is being got ready the mother goes to fetch a woman who, though now past childbearing, has been renowned for her former fertility. This woman takes the girl on her back (whence she is known by the name *aba tarda*), carries her into the *kharu oms*, and cares for her while she is there. Should the period come on in the veld far from home, the girl's companions will on no account let her walk, lest all the roots and berries in her path scorch up, but will do their best to carry her home on their backs, taking turn and turn about.

Once in the *kharu oms*, the girl must lie quite still, wrapped closely in her sheepskin kaross. The wind must on no account blow on her, nor must she be exposed to the sun. She may not leave her little hut except at night, and then it must be by the back opening, with one woman behind her and one in front to screen her from view. All the time she is thus secluded she must be careful not to touch cold water on any pretence whatever, nor may she speak above a whisper. It is said that if she talks aloud she will be a chatterbox and muddle in all sorts of affairs later, and will get a bad name among the people. The hearth fire in the outer hut is now also /*aus*, and nothing at all may be cooked at it, nor may any pregnant or menstruating or sterile woman come and sit by it, lest dire misfortune befall the girl. No man or boy, again, will come near her, for fear of dread consequences to himself. It is believed that should anyone infringe these or any of the other /*aus* restrictions during this time, some sort of sexual disease would beset him; and this could only be prevented from proving fatal if he were able to persuade the *aba tarda* (the old woman officiating) to inoculate him with her "essence" and so free him.

The girl, however, is [illegible] sweet-smelling leaves and bark into powder for her, with which she is copiously covered. The time of her seclusion is variously reported as from two or three days to a month. Some girls who had recently been through the rites said they had been secluded for a fortnight; and Mrs. Hoernlé is inclined to think that most probably the time was longer in days gone by, for one of the chief things required of the girl while in her little hut is that she should get fat, with a smoothly shining skin.

1 [The girl's mother. — Analyst]

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Immediately she is in the hut, her relations commence slaughtering animals to provide in her honour the feast known as *kharu tap*, "menstruation killing." All her nearer relatives contribute to this killing, even her older married brothers, if she has any. Everything slaughtered must be female, and above all a heifer must be provided. The entrails, pluck, etc., of these animals must on no account be eaten by any relative, either maternal or paternal, of the girl. The visiting friends enjoy them. This *kharu tap* is the great feast for the women, all who have already passed through the puberty rites being able to take part in it. The only exceptions to this rule are that no menstruating woman may eat of the meat, "lest the girl's period never stop," nor any pregnant woman, "lest the girl's period stop never to return." No man or boy either was formerly supposed to take any part at all in the feast, but nowadays, owing to the extreme poverty of the people, males are allowed to share the meat of all but one of the first animals killed. The women cook and eat the meat outside the hut, while the *aba tarda* takes her share, always part of the outer flesh, inside. The girl and her friends remain in the *kharu oms*, drinking plenty of milk and eating all the meat they can. As the time of her seclusion draws to a close, the feasting takes on bigger proportions, regulated always of course by the relatives. The young people of the kraal begin practising the reed dance, and the girl's friends, both male and female, play and dance round the hut in which she is confined. Then, at last, the day before she is to come out, a long series of purification rites takes place.

First, during the day, the *aba tarda* enters the girl's enclosure, and cleanses her of all her *axa /aip*, child dirt. This is very thoroughly done with melted butter and moist cowdung, every inch of the girl's body being well scoured. The *aba tarda* smears the salve all over the body of the girl, and after allowing it to dry slightly rolls it off again with the palm of her hand. She then collects it carefully, and hides it in an ant-heap or animal's hole where no one is looking. The girl is now given a complete set of new clothing, the old woman carrying off the discarded one. In former days it was at this time that the girl changed her maiden's apron for the full woman's dress; hence these puberty rites are sometimes referred to as the *broek-karoos slagt*, from the Dutch term *broek-karoos* (lit. breeches-karoos) applied to the woman's rear apron. Next the girl is led into the outer hut by the *aba tarda*, with whom she prepares a meal for the other women assembled to meet her. Nowadays she prepares tea or coffee, but

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formerly a cow was specially slaughtered for the occasion. This cooking is the first done on the fire since the girl entered the *khara oms*. The *ake tarde* must hold her hand as she takes the pot, and aid her with everything she does. Soot from the pot is put on her forehead, and together the old woman and she eat a piece of meat prepared apart from the rest. So she is made free to cook and prepare a meal once more.[1] Then the *ake tarde* takes the fire, ashes and all, and dumps it far from the hut. She next sprinkles fresh sand on the hearth, and lays a new fire, which must not be lit from another, as is usually done when a fire goes out, but with flint or matches; originally no doubt the firesticks would have been used. The fire thus lit is no longer /*nas*.

The girl is now ready to receive visitors as an *oaxais*, a young marriageable woman. All her relatives and friends pour in, each with some present of beads, or earrings, or other finery. A great deal of this is only lent, and is returned later. The girl shines with clean, well-greased skin, she is scented all over with the *kurku* she and her friends have ground, her face is painted in various curious patterns with red and white mineral powder mixed with fat, and her body is loaded with the presents. Then the young boys, even up to sixteen years of age and more, come into the hut from which they have hitherto been excluded, and go up to the newly-made *oaxais*. She takes her "powder-puff" full of *kurku*, and with it rubs each of them on his testicles. This ensures fertility and is a protection against sexual diseases. This particular rite seems to be dying out, and nowadays is accounted for by the saying that until the boys have been rubbed in this way it is too dangerous for them to eat any of the meat prepared for the girl. In consequence the younger boys especially go in eagerly, so that they may join in the feast!

The feasting reaches its climax this day. Female animals, both cows and heifers, are killed, cooked, and eaten, and everybody, men and women, boys and girls alike, joins in this "feast of rejoicing". Hahn states that when the relatives appear for this final feast, the girl's nearest male relative (usually the eldest unmarried cousin) takes the fat of one of the heifers, hangs it over her head, and wishes that she

[1] The description of this part of the ceremony is taken from the version given by Mrs. Hoernlé in her more detailed account ("Social Values of Women," 1926). In the earlier version ("Concepts of Sex," 1918) she says that the cleansing of the girl and the change of clothing is made in front of the little hut, i.e. in the outer hut, and gives no soot. "Meanwhile, a cow has been slaughtered, and one of the hind legs is given to the *ake tarde*. This she must now cook on the fire in the house. . . . When the cooking is completed, it is eaten by the *ake tarde* and other women who, like her, are past childbearing. No one else touches it."

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may be as fruitful as a young cow and have many children. The other friends repeat the wish.[1]

Towards evening the girl's friends enter the hut to fetch her out, and for the last time she must leave it by the special opening made for her at the back. Her friends surround her, and for a time try to keep her from the view of the youths, for she is very shy. The youths now start the reed dance, forming the inner ring, while the girls, with the *oawis* in their midst, dance round them in an outer ring. Every now and then there is a change of partners, and gradually the youths get to the side of the girl and choose her as partner, till in the end her shyness has all gone. During the dancing she throws *kucha* over the men and boys as she sees them; this is supposed to bring good luck. The dancing often lasts through the night, and when it is over the final round of rites begins, reintroducing the girl to her daily tasks, "freeing her, as it were," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "from the spell under which she has hung."

Early on the following morning she is led out of her hut by the *aba tarde*, accompanied by her girl and boy friends. She is conducted round the kraal, and as she goes along picks up earth from the cattle-folds and strews it about, plucks twigs and blossoms from the various trees and bushes she passes by, and also scatters *kucha* as she goes. Every male thing, too, she touches, be it rain, calf, or man, as well as the milking vessels in the huts. The explanation given for this was that such a young girl brings fertility to all she touches, and that the day after she had come out of her hut it was sure to rain and there would be plenty in the land.[2] Next she milks a cow, if possible a young cow calving for the first time, the *aba tarde* supporting her arm as she does so. This milk is */nas*, to be drunk only by the old woman herself or others of her age. Once this milking has taken place, the girl can resume her milking duties with impunity.

Similarly she is reintroduced to all her other daily tasks by the *aba tarde*. They gather wood together, collect roots and berries together in the veld, and so on. Finally, towards evening, when the usual time comes for getting the household supply of water, they go together, accompanied by all the old women of the kraal, to the water-hole. Here the *aba tarde* takes wet mud from the water and rubs it on the girl's legs, then with a branch in her hand splashes water over the girl. Finally both of them take hold of the branch and strike the

[1] "The Nama Slaughterman," pers. communi by Hoernlé; cf. Wilms, op. cit., 100.
[2] Cf. also Hoernlé, *Reformer*, 173; Alexander, loc. cit.

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water. The *ake tarás* then fills the girl's water-pot and her own, puts the former on the girl's head, and the procession returns home. The girl is now free to use water whenever she likes, except when she is menstruating.

In addition to this rite of reintroduction to water there is, according to Hahn, another rite to be performed before the girl is finally free from the restrictions imposed upon her. She must run about quite naked in the first thunderstorm coming on after her festival, so that the rain pours down and washes her whole body. The belief is that this causes her to be fruitful and have many children. He states that he has on three occasions witnessed this running in the rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning.[1]

With these final rites of aggregation the ceremony is at an end. The girl is able once more to take part in the routine life of the community, only now she is regarded as ready for marriage. During her subsequent periods, however, she is again */nau*, and although there is apparently no feasting or special seclusion, she must observe the same injunctions as when she first menstruates. Thus she may not enter the cattle-fold, let alone milk; it is believed that if she does milk a cow, its milk will turn to blood. Similarly, if she cooks a meal, those who eat it, especially men, will be very ill. Above all she must avoid cold water, for, as Mrs. Hoernlé points out, there is this great difference between most things a menstruating woman is forbidden to do, and the touching of cold water—cold water she can never harm, it will always harm her, if she uses it when she should not, whereas it is she who pollutes other things that she touches and makes them */nau*. Mrs. Hoernlé records an instance of a woman dying suddenly, whose death was unhesitatingly attributed to the fact that she had her period, yet insisted to do her mistress's washing in cold water. Other women, again, who had been working for white people, said that they were now sickly and never bore any children, because they had been made to work with cold water when they should not have done so.[2]

Nowadays the Naman find it very inconvenient to have their women inspected so often and unable to attend to their daily tasks, and Mrs. Hoernlé goes on to say they have discovered that for most women it is quite safe to do these tasks, except that they must

[1] [illegible] (also quoted by Hoernlé); cf. Schöne, loc. cit.
[2] "Social Value of Water," 324-5.

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not touch cold water. It is only certain women who are said to be */khai /na*, forbidden or dangerous, who cannot do these things; and a sure way of finding out is to take a woman along the seashore when first she menstruates. The sea, as the greatest accumulation of cold water, is very dangerous for people in an unstable condition. If the woman is */khai /na*, it will rush in towards her, and she will have to take great care not to be drawn in. The woman to whom this happens must not dare to do anything during her period, for she would be a danger to all who touched her food or the milk she had milked.[1]

A similar discrimination is implied in Vedder's account of the girls' puberty rites among the inland Naman. During her seclusion, he says, the girl is given fresh cow's milk to drink. This milk must come from a cow that has its first calf. If the cow does not die during the days of the menstruation, or if it does not get ill, the girl is harmless. But if it should die, this is proof that the girl possesses special powers, and she dare not again drink milk from the herd during her period, lest she imperil the animals. The menstrual blood of such a girl, he adds, is looked upon as an effective poison, which, when dry, is rubbed from her clothes and mixed with the food of enemies in order to kill them. The blood of a harmless girl, on the other hand, is used as medicine for sexual diseases amongst men.[2]

Of the girls' puberty rites among the other Hottentot peoples we have no adequate description. That they existed, however, is shown by Barrow's statement that although by his time many of the ancient usages of the Cape and Eastern Hottentots had ceased to exist, "one custom still remained, which seemed to be pretty generally observed: this was that of shaving the heads of young girls as soon as the first symptoms of maturity began to appear; at the same time, all the ornaments worn on the neck, legs, and arms are removed, and the body for once in their life clean washed and scoured; and during the continuance of the periodical symptoms, they are restricted to a milk diet, and not suffered to mix in the company of men."[3]

Kolb, writing nearly a century earlier of the Cape Hottentots, makes no mention at all of any special usages connected with a girl's first period, but refers several times to the fact that menstruating women were to avoid the company of men. A husband, for example, might not have sexual intercourse with his wife during her periods, or even eat with her, otherwise he would become unclean and have to purify himself by slaughtering an ox for an *andersmaaken* in which

[1] Ibid., 525. [2] "The Nama," 136. [3] *Travels in S. Africa*, 2nd ed., i, 214.

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he took part with the other men of the kraal. Indeed, any man who touched a menstruating woman or anything belonging to her, or ate together with her or even came near her, was regarded as "extremely defiled", and obliged to purify himself before he could again mix freely with other men. It is to fear of such contamination, as we have seen, that Kolb ascribes the habitual separation of the sexes at meals.[1] Le Vaillant, again, states that among the Gonaqua a menstruating woman would isolate herself at some distance from the rest of the community until her period was over, when, purified by bathing, she could again mix with the people.[2] These descriptions are obviously incomplete, but they serve to show that the conception of */nau* or taboo attaching to a menstruating woman among the Naman existed also to some degree at least, among the other Hottentot peoples.

Boys' Puberty Ceremonies

Although the Hottentots no longer observe any special rites connected with the attainment of maturity by boys, there is evidence enough in the literature that such rites existed in the past. Like the other Hottentot transition rites, they involved, among the Naman at least, a period of seclusion, with all its accompanying restrictions and final reintroduction to the incidents of ordinary life. But they also embodied a definite course of instruction, in which certain customary usages and laws peculiarly applicable to men were impressed upon the initiates. These rites seem to have been essentially of an individual character, in that as a rule only one boy at a time was subjected to them. On occasion perhaps three or four boys might be found undergoing them simultaneously, but this was by no means regular or necessary. In this respect among others, therefore, the Hottentot puberty rites for boys differed fundamentally from those of the North-Western Bushmen, where, as we have seen, there must always be a group of boys being initiated together.

No man was allowed to marry until he had passed through these rites. They served directly to initiate him into the ranks of mature men, and above all conferred upon him the privilege of habitually associating, eating, and smoking with these men. Boys who had not undergone the rites ate only with the women, and were regarded as milksops. It is upon this aspect of the rites that Kolb lays emphasis

[1] Op. cit., 102–3 and *passim*; cf. (English trans.) *The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 148, and 7.

[2] *Voyage dans l'Afrique*, ii, 41.

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in describing them as they existed in his time among the Cape Hottentots. Until, he says, the boy is initiated, generally in about his eighteenth year, he must remain under the direct control of his mother and associate with the women at meals; he may not eat even with his father, let alone set himself up as a man. When at last his father, or the men as a whole, resolve to receive him into their company, all the inhabitants of the kraal assemble in the open space in the middle, where the men sit down in a circle. The initiate, smeared all over with fat and soot, squats down beyond them. The oldest man present then asks the others if they are willing to admit the boy into their ranks; on receiving their acquiescence, he steps up to the boy and informs him that henceforth he is freed from submission to his mother and that he must no longer associate with the women. Then the old man urinates freely over the boy, at the same time wishing him good fortune, fertility, a ripe old age, and similar blessings. This done, all the men feast on a sheep provided by the friends of the boy, and the latter now joins them. He is thus confirmed in the privilege of associating, eating, and drinking with the men, and leaves behind him the reproach of being a milksop. The word *kutsive*, by which according to Kolb uninitiated boys are derided as being attached to women's company, is equally offensive when hurled at a mature man. He may not rest under it, but his case is examined by the men, and if the accusation is upheld he is excluded from their company until he has purified himself by slaughtering a sheep. This the men eat, while he himself receives only the fat and the entrails, which he must cook with the animal's blood and consume.[1]

The urination figuring so conspicuously in Kolb's description of this and other ceremonies has been seized upon by many later writers as an instance of romantic falsification. But although there is much in his description of the Cape Hottentots not altogether above suspicion, he is confirmed on this particular point by other reliable authorities. Thus Thunberg, writing at the end of the eighteenth century, says: "The custom is not quite laid aside of making youth, at a certain age, men; from which time they are separated from the women, and associate only with men. After the youth has been besprinkled, according to custom, with urine, some animal is killed, and its omentum, or cawl, is tied about his neck."[2] And Wikar, in describing the boys' puberty ceremonies among the

[1] Op. cit., 59-60. [2] *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, II, 42.

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Little Namaqua tribes, says that when a young Hottentot is "made a man" he is first cleansed with water, to do away with his "child" or "goatherd dirt", next rubbed all over with fat, then urinated upon by the old men for three days in succession, after which he is cleansed with the blood of an animal specially killed for the purpose, and finally is again smeared with fat, while at the same time all his cattle are sprinkled with liquid fat. In another context our author states that the boy has also to provide a special meal in which only he and previously-initiated men may take part. This, of course, is the sacramental meal accompanying all these transition rites.[1] Hahn likewise testifies emphatically from his own observations among the Naman that a youth upon being initiated is besprinkled with urine by the magician ("zauberdoctor"); but unfortunately he gives no further details at all about the ceremony.[2]

The fullest account we have of the boys' puberty rites among the Naman is given by Olpp.[3] He states that there is no special time at which they have to be performed. An adolescent youth of any age can be subjected to them, the occasion apparently being determined primarily by the father and by the latter's ability to provide the necessary cattle for slaughter and milking. The boy is then placed under the care of an old man specially selected for this purpose, who naturally has himself long previously undergone the rites.[4] The latter at once proceeds to erect a small mat enclosure inside a bigger hut. Here he stays together with the boy as long as the period of seclusion lasts. The first act on the part of the boy is to clean himself by washing off all the ochre with which he has previously been smeared. Then one of the animals provided for slaughter is killed by the old man, cooked, and the meat shared between him and the boy. Campbell states that the fat of the animal is tied on the head and round the neck of the boy, where it must be worn until it rots and falls away.[5] This, however, is not mentioned by Olpp. The meal over, the old man blows ("blast") on the upper part of the boy's body, and immediately commences to instruct him in the rules of behaviour proper to a mature man.

These rules Olpp renders in the form of the following precepts:

[1] "Beiträge zum Leben der Hottentotten," 1913-4, 54.
[2] "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Hottentotten," 9.
[3] "Aus dem Sagenschatze der Nama (Khoi-Khoin)," 296-8.
[4] From a remark made by Hahn ("Zauberdoctor," 11) it is the magician (qui sub who has "to perform the rite of making a boy a man".
[5] "Travels in S. Africa," 430.

"You may not light and smoke your pipe in the camp of strangers or with people whom you do not really know. You may not sit together at a fire and smoke with people, if you know that they have stolen cattle and cooked the meat on that fire. You may not eat the meat of the hare or the jackal, or light your pipe at a fire on which jackal meat has been cooked. Only in case of utmost necessity may you eat zebra or dassie meat. You may also not eat the flesh of those animals which do not chew the cud and have not cloven hooves. You must not catch a goat by the leg and steal its milk. You may not touch a carcase. You must not murder, steal, or lie, fornicate or commit adultery. You must respect age. Otherwise you will become ill." It is probable that in formulating these rules of observance Olpp was to some extent influenced by Old Testament ideas, as in the reference to animals which do not chew the cud, etc. There is no other mention of such a food taboo among the Naman. At the same time there is no doubt that the instruction of the initiate included rules of this nature, and Hahn corroborates some at least of those mentioned by Olpp by his statement that boys when they became of age were told not to lie or steal, and not to ill-treat the other sex or commit rape.[1]

These precepts are impressed upon the boy every day over a period of one or two months. During the whole of this time the boy is allowed to drink only cow's milk, of which he must consume great quantities daily; should he taste any other food, all that is past of the ceremony must be repeated. At the end of the seclusion another animal is slaughtered and its meat eaten by the boy and his teacher. All the meat left over from this meal must be burned, together with the bones, horns, and claws. Then the old man makes several horizontal cuts, 4–6 cm. long, on the breast of the boy, and rubs ashes into the wounds, so that a permanent blue scar is produced.[2] This operation over, the boy is taken by his teacher, accompanied by another of the old men as witness, to the river or waterhole. Here the boy kneels down and touches the water with his mouth, and then the old man hits the water with a stick, so that it splashes up in the face of the boy. The object of this rite, according to Olpp, is to frighten and splash away "the evil heart of the boy"; but there

[1] Op. cit., 18.

[2] Campbell (loc. cit.) states, however, that this scarification is made at the beginning of the seclusion, which lasts for eight days. From Mrs. Howard's general analysis of the Naman circumcision rites this would seem to be the more correct view, and the period of seclusion probably lasts only until the wounds have healed. It is almost certain that Olpp has confused the order of the rites.

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can be little doubt that it merely represents the ceremonial reintroduction of the boy to water, just as in all the other rites of this nature the person undergoing the rite must be reintroduced to water. Campbell's version of the rite is that the entrails of the animal killed at the beginning of the ceremony are dried and pounded to powder, which is mixed with water and then rubbed all over the boy. The latter is then in the presence of the whole kraal declared to be a man.

With this rite the initiation is brought to an end. The boy is now a *doro-aob*, a man allowed to sit at the fire (*doro*) and eat in the company of the other men of the camp. As such he is bound to observe various usages with regard to eating. Some of these have already been noted in Olpp's list of precepts, but he adds a few others. If it happens, for example, that while the meat for the *doro* men is on the fire a dog unexpectedly snatches a piece from it, then all the meat becomes impure, and another animal must be slaughtered. Again, a pot in which hare's flesh has previously been cooked must first be cleaned out with fire before it can be used by the men, and in any case it must not be used if an entirely new pot can be procured. Any man violating these prohibitions, and, for example, eating hare's flesh, whether because of necessity and excessive hunger or simply without noticing, may not again eat with the other *doro* men until he has been purified. He may not even light his pipe at a fire at which *doro* meat is being cooked, but must fetch a light from another place, if he has no matches. For the rite of purification a friend must give him a young lamb, which he slaughters himself. The blood of the lamb is then boiled and handed to him by his friend; if he cannot drink it all, the remainder must be buried in the ground. Next he washes himself with the contents of the stomach, and then he and his friend consume the flesh of the lamb. After this meal he may once more eat together with the other men. Anybody sinning for the third time in breaking these taboos, adds Olpp, is cast altogether out of the company of the *doro* men; but no indication is given as to his future lot.

Andersson also mentions the taboo on hare's flesh, adding that it is forbidden even to come into contact with a fire on which a hare has been cooked. If a man breaks the rule, he is not infrequently banished from the kraal, but on the payment of a fine may be readmitted to the community.[1] Another obligation, mentioned by Alberts, is that grown-up men must refrain from milking a cow,

[1] *Lake Ngami*, 318–9; cf. Wilm, *op. cit.*, 118.

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since this is beneath their dignity, and anyone "who condescends to perform this part of the domestic tasks" would be expelled from the company of the men.[1]

It will be noticed that among both the Cape Hottentots and the Naman the essential feature of the boys' initiation rites seems to be the fact that it gives him the privilege and right of henceforth associating on equal terms with the mature men of the community. This privilege is apparently of some significance, for we find that whoever violates any of the customary norms of conduct is not permitted to mix again freely in the company of the men until he has been purified. This exclusion may perhaps be due to the ritual impurity in which the man finds himself, and which will make it dangerous for him to associate with the others. At the same time it suggests that the *dore* men form a distinct social group within the community; and Kolb's general statement that men and women among the Cape Hottentots habitually ate apart is of some value in this connection, as lending support to the possibility that there was in Hottentot life a well-defined alignment of the community with the men on the one side, and the women and children, including uninitiated boys, on the other. But on this point we have not nearly enough concrete information.

It is worth noting also that these rites are fundamentally different from the corresponding ones among the Bushmen. In both cases, it is true, we have seclusion, and the form of bodily mutilation is scarification; but even the nature and purpose of the scarification, as Mrs. Hoernlé's general analysis of the Hottentot rites shows, are markedly different, while the place of seclusion also differs. The Bushman boys, again, are initiated in groups, the rites are intimately connected with hunting, and they also serve to introduce the boys to the tribal religious mysteries. The Hottentot boys, on the other hand, are initiated individually, and the rites do not appear to have any connection with either hunting or religious mysteries. The moral rules and the food restrictions imposed upon the boys cannot be regarded in the same light as the revelation of *Huwe* to the Bushman boys. The Hottentots, as we shall see, also believe in supernatural beings, somewhat similar in nature even to those of the Bushmen, but there is nothing at all to indicate that these beings are revealed to the boys at initiation.

The Hottentot puberty rites for girls also differ considerably

[1] "Buschmänner im Gross-Namalande," 204.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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from those of all the Bushmen except the Heikum. In the case of the latter the general resemblance to the Hottentot rites is so marked— the powdering of the boys' scrota by the girl is especially noteworthy in this context—that one is definitely inclined to postulate Hottentot influence here. In the case of the other North-Western tribes, the central feature of the girls' ceremony is the eland bull dance, which is not found among the Hottentots, while on the other hand, the elaborate /aau restrictions and reintroduction rites present among the latter have not been reported at all of the Bushmen. The seclusion ritual of the Cape Bushmen, and the beliefs connecting young maidens with the dangerous properties of rain and water, seem more in line with the Hottentot ceremony, but the data bearing upon the Bushman rites and beliefs is too fragmentary to justify any definite assertion of similarity.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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abundance, and above all the controller of the rain and its associated phenomena of clouds, thunder, and lightning. *Tsui ||Goab* appears to be essentially the personification of the natural forces producing the rain, and as the rain god he is the object of a special cult. In all this he resembles closely the being variously known as *Huwe*, *Hiska*, *Eruh* or *Thora* by the Northern Bushmen, and as *Cagn*, the Mantis, by the Bushmen of Basutoland. *Huwe*, too, is the creator, he controls the rain, thunder, and lightning, he is the source of abundance and of good luck in hunting, the protector of his people from illness and danger, and to him are directed the ceremonies and prayers for rain, food, recovery from illness, etc.

But among certain of the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also dwells in a house in the sky where he receives the souls of the dead. This belief is apparently not found at all among the Hottentots, nor has it been recorded of the other Bushman tribes. It is also held, however, in what appears to be a far more elaborate form, by the Bergdama. Among this people we meet with the conception of *||Gamab*, whose name Vedder derives from the root *||gami*, "water," and whom he regards as "originally the god of the rising clouds and of thunder and fountains". *||Gamab* is the only supernatural being of whom the Bergdama speak. He is the source of life and death, abundance of food, etc., and he lives in "heaven" in a village where he gathers about him the souls of the departed. The Bergdama trace out in great detail the movements of the soul from the moment of death till its arrival in *||Gamab's* village, and the life led there is minutely described.[1] In view of the fact that this particular series of beliefs and its associated rites appear to be the central feature of Bergdama religion, are entirely absent from the Hottentots, and occur in a much-attenuated form only among certain North-Western Bushman tribes who have been much in contact with the Bergdama, one feels justified in assuming that the connection of *Huwe* with a "sky dwelling" to which go the souls of the deceased can be definitely attributed to Bergdama influence.

Among the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also figures in the boys' puberty ceremonies, whereas among the Hottentots neither *Tsui ||Goab* nor any other supernatural being is in any way connected with these ceremonies. Here we have an important distinction, and one which must further be correlated with the fact that the Southern Bushmen do not appear to have any puberty ceremonies at all for

[1] Vedder, *The Bergdama*, I, pp. 193 ; Idem, "The Bergdama," pp. 199.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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boys. This particular association, in other words, is peculiar to the North-Western Bushmen; but whether it has been borrowed or is simply a local development cannot be decided in the light of our present knowledge.

Finally, the Hottentots speak also of *Heitsi Eibib*, who seems to be a sort of ancestral hero, and who is worshipped at his "graves", where he is prayed to for success in hunting, etc. His mythological character in certain respects resembles that of the Mantis among the Cape Bushmen, but the latter is not the object of a grave cult, and this *Heitsi Eibib* primarily is. There is no being corresponding to him among the Northern Bushmen, although his name occurs, obviously as a borrowed element, in the *Heisi* of the Heikum of Etosha Pan and of North-East Ovahonga (among the former as that of a "bringer of blessings", among the latter as that of an "evil spirit"!), and possibly also in the *Hisis*, i.e. *Hawe*, of the Naron and Auen. Consequently this conception must be regarded as peculiar to the Hottentots.

The resemblances noted above are far-reaching, even when allowance is made for the by no means insignificant differences in detail. The Northern Bushmen especially seem to have many elements of religious belief virtually identical with those of the Hottentots. There has certainly been a good deal of mutual influence here, but the similarities not so much in detail as in general features are too numerous and too fundamental to be attributed solely to borrowing. Meticulous comparison must unfortunately be ruled out as at present inadvisable: we know far more about the religious system of the Hottentots than we do about that of the Bushmen, of which indeed the available information is so scanty that any elaborate discussion based on it can only be regarded as somewhat speculative. It can nevertheless be fairly confidently asserted that among both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots we find, in addition to the worship of the moon, the cult of mythical beings derived partly from animistic beliefs (*//Gaua*), and partly from the personification of the natural forces producing rain (*Tsui //Goab*, *Huwe*). It must be concluded therefore that both peoples have on the whole the same religious system, although there are obviously also considerable differences in detail which still have to be explained. The importance attaching to this community of beliefs is emphasized by the fact that this religious system differs essentially from that of the neighbouring Bantu.

The Southern Bushmen to some extent stand apart from the rest.

716 The rites themselves. As representative of various kinds of transition rites I have chosen the four which are still practised today with something of the detail and care of the past, though one needs to be but a little while among the Hottentots to learn that all the old sanctions and controls are breaking down with increasing rapidity as the years go by. I found it extremely difficult to get trustworthy information about the puberty ceremonies of the boys, which seem completely to have lapsed since big game hunting ceased to be possible, and with it the customary test of manly prowess which it offered. But (a) the puberty ceremonies of the girls will probably be retained so long as the Hottentots themselves remain, and of these I obtained full descriptions from young girls, women, and men. (b) The remarriage ceremony is likewise carefully observed, as it is regarded as an essential protection against disease. (c) The rites are still practised for certain diseases, even though Dutch and other remedies may be tried as well, and (d) finally the death ceremonies are still carried out, for they do not tend to clash with incoming customs.

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●881 Puberty ceremonies among women. In order to make my picture of this Hottentot custom as full as possible, I shall here and there insert information from other investigators, but shall always indicate any information not of my own collecting.

A girl's first period is called khoré or /habab. Young girls told me they were exceedingly frightened by their first period, and older women reported that girls generally start crying when they realise what has happened, and tell either their girl friends or some older woman of the clan, often the father's eldest brother's wife. Through this intermediary the mother is told. The latter gets her married sisters and her brothers' wives to make a little mat enclosure (khoré doni), inside at the back of the family hut, on the left hand side. It is a screened off segment, measuring 2 to 3 feet at its widest point, in the least regarded part of the hut.[1] According to Hannie, it always has its own little opening leading out behind the hut. Unfortunately I never saw one of the khoré from myself, but I had a model made for me, and the whole proceeding enacted. While the hut is being got ready, the mother goes to fetch a woman, who, though past childbearing now, has been renowned for her former fertility. This woman takes the girl on her back, carries her into the khoré doni, and cares for her while she is there. She is called the ebi tarin.[2] Should the period come on in the veldt far from home, the girl's companions will on no account let her walk, but will do their best to carry her home on their backs, taking turn and turn about. Were such a girl to walk home through the veldt, all the roots and the berries would wrench up. Once in the khoré doni the girl is seated on her skin blanket (*orpdi*) and closely wrapped about with her *orudom*.[3] The wind must on no account blow on her,

[1] H. T. Holm, in Ethnos, vol. II, 1937, p. 302.

[2] Ebi, "to carry a child on one's back". Tarin, dignified word for "woman".

[3] "Cloak of skins".

neither must she speak above a whisper. All informants lay great emphasis on these two points. Ukamûs declares that if she talks she will be a chatterbox and meddle in all sorts of affairs later on and will get a bad name among the people. The girl must not leave the hut except at night, and then it must be by the back opening with one woman behind and one in front of her, to screen her from view. [52]

Nowadays her older girl friends visit her, but I am inclined to think that in the old[55] days this would not have been allowed. They help her to grind sweet smelling bark or [302] root or leaves to make powder (*ubp*) which is freely used on the clothes and to rub on the skin. The Hottentots have a great variety of scented powders, each with its own name, and in olden days some of the rarer ones were greatly sought after and exchanged for a considerable amount. When I went inland from Walfish Bay, I was entrusted to send [304] back a special sweet smelling resin which could be had from the people I was going among. These scented powders are used constantly, and a woman spends a considerable amount of her time grinding them. *Hûoep*, a face paint made by grinding a soft red stone to powder and mixing it with fat, is used by the girls to paint patterns on their faces. The [314] time during which the girl must remain in the *khurî* does has been differently reported to me. It varies from 2 or 3 days to a month. Hottentots are vague about length of time, but several girls who had been through the experience recently, told me they were in the hut a fortnight. Most probably the time was longer in days gone by, for one of the chief things required of a girl in the hut is that she should get fat, with smoothly shining skin. "The girl mustn't be hungry while she is sitting in the hut," says Ukamûs. Indeed, immediately she is in the hut, her relatives kill for her, the feast being called *khurî ubp*. All her nearer relatives take part in this killing, even the girl's elder married brothers if she has any. Everything killed must be female, and chief of all must be a heifer. The entrails, gharb, etc., must not on any account be eaten by any relative, either maternal or paternal, of the girl — the visiting friends enjoy them.

This *khurî ubp* is the great feast for the women, all who have already passed through these ceremonies being able to take part in it. No man or boy is allowed to have any share in it at all. One woman of the Bondos tribe said to me: "That killing is no great no the marriage killing." Nowadays the Hottentots are exceedingly poor, and cannot afford to kill recklessly as they did of old, hence the men, who formerly took part only in the feast of rejoicing * to be described below, are allowed to share the meat of all but one of the first animals killed, and this concession is made use of to force the boys to submit to a part of the proceedings * to which they would not nowadays be willing to submit otherwise. The only exceptions to this rule that all grown women may partake [341] of the meat are that no menstruating woman must eat of it, "lest the girl's period never [343]

* This index, p. 73, and n. 36. * This index, p. 73.

[FX] [FX] [FX] stop," as Katrina says, and no pregnant woman, "lest the girl's period stop never to return." The women cook and eat the meat outside the hut, while the old turtle takes her share, which must always be part of the outer flesh, inside. While the girl and her friends sit in the khart dam, drinking plenty of milk and eating all the meat they can, the fire which is always made in the centre line of the hut, just a little way inside the door, is lean and nothing must be cooked at this fire at all. Everyone must hasten for the [FX] girl. Then no pregnant or menstruating woman must come and sit by the fire, nor must a sterile woman, lest dire things befall the girl in the khart dam. All this time too, she will be careful not to touch cold water on any pretense whatever. No man or boy would come near her for fear of dread consequences to himself.

[FX] [FX] At the time of the girl's seclusion draws to a close, the hunting takes on bigger proportions, regulated always of course by the relatives. The young people of the village begin practising the reed dance, and the girl's friends, both male and female, play and dance round the hut in which she is confined. Then, at last, the day before she is to come out, a long series of purification rites takes place.

[FX] First, during the day, the girl is placed in front of the lean fire, and is steamed* with moist cow dung (*ehoep*) and lumps from head to foot by the old woman who carried her into the hut, to clean off all the dye /*urip*.* The old turtle smears the *ehoep* all over the body of the girl, allows it to dry slightly, and then with the palm of her hand rubs it off in handfuls, *ehoep* and /*urip*, for the Hottentots allow plenty of it to gather. She then collects it carefully and hides it in an ant heap or animal's hole where no one is looking. The girl is then given a complete new set of clothing and the old woman carries off the old one. Meantime a cow has been slaughtered, and one of the hind legs is given to the old turtle. This she must now cook on the fire in the house, the first cooking done there since the girl entered the khart dam. When the meat is cooked, it is eaten by the old turtle and other women who, like her, are past childbearing. No one else touches it. Then the old turtle takes the fire, ashes and all, and dumps it far from the house. She then sprinkles fresh sand on the hearth and lays a new fire. This fire must not be lit from another fire, as is usually done when a fire goes out. It must be lit with flint. Most Hottentots use timber lucifers nowadays, matches being a rare luxury. No doubt originally the fire was lighted with the firesticks which were certainly in use among them.** The fire then lit is now no longer lean. *Hoaxibi dama ka oras*[a], while tsei usi ni *oraya* ("now the

* //ke *oriam*, "the steaming before going out".

** Literally "two dirt".

[FX] V. Rahn, Tsuni //Goam, p. 91.

[a] *oraba*, "lean" or "right", e.g., *oras oraxa* "the right path".

house is free so that anyone can come in"). The girl is now ready to receive visits as an ǂaiǂain, that is, a young marriageable woman. All her relatives and friends pour in, each one with some present of beads, or earrings, or other finery. A great deal of this is heaped only and is returned later. The girl shines with clean, well-greased skin. She is anointed all over with the clay which she and her girl friends have ground. Her face is painted in various patterns with !naup and ǂgoamib ("ground white stone"), and her body is loaded with her presents. Then it is that the little boys, even up to sixteen years and more,[8] come into the hut from which they have up to now been excluded, and go in to the newly made ǂaiǂain. She takes her !hirus daos ("powder puff") full of clay and rubs their testicles (*ǂkaribe*). This ensures fertility and is a protection against sexual diseases. The full expression for this custom is !hirus daos /a /naes ("to rub gently with a powder puff"). Nowadays the saying is that until the boys have been rubbed, it is too dangerous for them to eat any of the meat prepared for the girl, and the younger ones especially go eagerly in, so that they may join in the feast. Some of the youths, according to Hannah, prefer to go without the meat, and none of my witnesses had ever seen grown-up men take part. It looks as though the customs were gradually dying out.

The feasting reaches its climax on this day. Female animals, both cows and heifers, are killed, cooked, and eaten. It is interesting to note that the goat is never used in these ceremonial meals, if it can possibly be avoided. This is probably due to the fact that originally the Hottentots owned no goats, and only acquired them quite late from the Bantu tribes with whom they came in contact.

Towards evening the girl's friends enter the hut to fetch her out. She must leave the hut by the special door which has been made for her at the back.[9] Her friends surround her, and for a time try to keep her from the view of the youths, for she is very shy. The youths start the reed dance, and the girls dance round them with the ǂaiǂain in their midst. Gradually the youths get to the side of the girl and choose her as a partner, and in the end her shyness gives way. In these Hottentot dances the men form the inner ring, the women the outer one, and every now and then there is a change of partners somewhat like the English game of *Jolly Miller*. During the dancing the ǂaiǂain throws clay over the men and boys as she sees them. This is supposed to bring good luck. The dancing lasts often right through the night, and when it is over, the final round of rites begins, reintroducing the girl to her daily tasks, freeing her, as it were, from the spell under which she has been living.

The old lady must accompany the ǂaiǂain in all these rites, but when her friends go

[8] According to T. Hahn, in olden days, all but extremely old men took part in this ceremony. Cf. also L. Fleischer, *Die Hottentotten und Buschmänner*, Jena, 1887, p. 200.

[9] A corpse is also taken out by a special door made for the purpose at the back of the hut.

[851] with her too. First a visit is paid to the cattle kraal where slip is strewn on all the male animals, also on the trees and bushes which they pass by. This was great luck, said one old man to me, and the day after such a girl had come out of her hut it was sure to rain and there would be plenty in the land; "now the white men have come, the rain has ceased, and the people are miserable." Then a cow is milked with the help of the old woman. If possible this is a young cow calving for the first time. The old woman supports the girl's arm while she milks. This milk is !nau, to be drunk only by the old woman herself or others of her age. Once this milking has taken place, the girl can resume her milking duties with impunity. Next a visit is made to the spring. The girl carries her water pot, (//ko-ǂe) on her head. Arrived at the spring, the woman with a branch from a tree strikes the water, scattering it over the girl. She then rubs the girl's legs and arms with clay (*ai-gaiti*), fills the pot, and places it on the girl's head. The girl is then free to draw water as she pleases.

Hahn[19] states that when the relatives appear for the feast at the end of the seclusion, her nearest male relative (usually the oldest unmarried cousin) takes the fat of the heifer which has been killed, hangs it over her head, and wishes that she may be as fruitful as a young cow and have many children. The other friends repeat the wish. Further,[19] [142] the girls who have come of age must after the festival run about in the first thunderstorm quite naked, so that the rain pours down and washes the whole body. The belief is that this causes them to be fruitful and have many children. He says he has on three occasions witnessed this running in the thunder rain when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning.

[851] When men are giving an account of this puberty ceremony for women, the chief [783] thing they lay stress on is the *!nau ǂkip*, i. e., the milk obtained from the first milking by the girl who has just come out of the khart ǂoa. Indeed, it was in this context that I first lit on the word !nau and all it means. Gottlieb had been describing the ceremony from his point of view, and when he mentioned the !nau ǂkip and the serious consequences which would follow if any man were inadvertently to drink it, I asked him what !nau meant and he burst out: "What is absent from this !nau? Everything is !nau, or used to be; warriors returning from a battle were !nau, a sick man is !nau, a widow," etc. etc.

[783] Should anyone infringe any of the !nau injunctions during these puberty rites, some sort of unusual disease would haunt him, and this could only be prevented from proving fatal, if he were able to persuade the old taxis to inoculate and so free him. The method of this inoculation, which is much the same wherever it occurs, will be fully described in the next section.

[19] T. Hahn, loc. cit. [19] Cf. Hahn, Tsuni //Goam, p. 97.

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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the navel string has fallen off. In Walvis Bay the baby is taken out and turned over and over in the rain by the mother or grandmother, so that it will know the rain and not be frightened of it, I was told. An Africander woman gave me a rather different account. The baby is taken out by one of the women who has been present at the birth, and is laid on a piece of skin in the rain. The old woman jumps over the child and back again; then lifts it up, tossing it this way and that in the rain, saying, "Hei-a Hei-a Tú gaba tai" (I toss you in the rain). This is done, said the old woman, so that the rain will not hurt the baby. It is the baby's introduction to the source of water.

Of another type of case I have never been able to get information myself among the tribes I have visited, but Theophilus Hahn writes: "The girl or girls who have become of age must, after the festival, run about in the first thunderstorm, but they must be quite naked, so that the rain which pours down washes the whole body. The belief is that they will get fruitful and have a large offspring." He continues: "I have on three occasions witnessed this running in the thunder rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning. This was among the !Oami /Nun; among the gei /Khauas at //Nuis, and among the //Ogeis on the banks of the !Kham River."*

These three tribes I have never visited myself and do not know if this ceremony used to take the place of the usual method of reintroducing the girls to water, or whether it was additional. I rather think it must have been additional, otherwise the girls would be prevented from using water over too long periods in many cases. The underlying motive of the ceremony seems the same as in the many we have noticed. The girls being now full members of society, the rain will protect them and help them to attain the full life of their new status.

Such are the Nama ceremonies connected with water. I have tried to show that they are all intelligible and form an harmonious whole if we realise that water is, of all the essentials of a social life, the most difficult for this primitive people to provide, that it is, therefore, one of their most important social possessions, and is invested with great power, essentially protective and wholesome so long as social life runs its normal course, but exceedingly dangerous to all the forces which threaten society, or to the members of the society themselves when the social bonds are loosened.

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* *Tsuni //Goam*, p. 87.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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B. ETHNOGRAPHICAL TEXTS

The dare, the Boy's Puberty Ceremony.

Version A.

From *Tabak*, December 1931.

Kxʔam ǂna kxʔamkxa ǂkarab ǂxa ǂkxǂna. ǂna gomab qʔakxa. ǂnaib qʔamkxa qʔgam ǂxa, ke qʔgami qʔkkǂa na dis a.

qʔa ǂaki ta ǂkaǂkxa xama ǂkǂkxa.

ke kxʔa ǂxama ǂǂxa, ǂna qʔge ke, ǂna ta. ǂna ǂxakxa ǂkǂa ǂǂaka ǂxa. ǂna " ka-a-" ki ǂǂ. ǂxama ka a, ǂka ta qʔge ke a, ǂka ǂǂaka.

ǂay gǂkab ǂǂka, garama/ ǂxama.

ǂna ǂǂnaib ǂǂka:

ta a ǂnaib ǂka na ǂxab ǂxa ka ǂǂaka.

ǂna ga ta ǂxama ǂǂxaqa ǂxaqa ǂǂna ga ta ǂǂ a, ta a ǂgaka qʔab ta. a a ka ǂǂkkǂa. ǂna ǂǂkkǂ gai ǂkaǂkxa ǂgaka qʔaq.

ǂna ta ǂǂ ǂxab ǂxaka: ka, a ka ǂǂkkǂa ǂxa, ǂi ǂǂ ǂkaǂ (na: qʔkk) ka ka: ki ǂǂkkǂa ǂxa.

ǂka qʔ ta.

ǂna ta ǂǂ ǂna ǂka a, ǂǂaka ǂǂnaib ǂxa a: qʔka ǂ.

ǂka ǂka qʔ a, ǂna ǂxaka ǂǂa:.

ǂka kxʔaaqa xa qʔkka a, ǂna ǂxaa, ǂaka qʔgaaxa ǂxama ǂxaǂna. ǂna ǂxa a ka ta. ǂka ǂxa: a, ǂ kxʔaaxa. ǂka ǂxa: ǂ a, ǂǂaka ǂǂnaib ǂxa a: qʔka ǂ.

Translation:

A house is built in the cattle-kraal for the youngsters. An ox is killed. The fat is poured for them into a dish. The dish is made of willow-wood. Well-known men are appointed to cook for them.

While they drink, they are called, they answer. Sticks are struck together in their ear and they say " ka-a." If they are far, they are called, they hear.

Then they are given an assegai (knife), together with a kierie.

Then they are given instruction:

" Do not light your pipe from a fire in the veld.

If, among the flock, you see a crippled (sick) sheep, do not look at its feet.

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Bring it home (to the mat), in order that the great men of the mat may look at its feet.

If you come across any (stranger) thing in the veld, take it home (to the mat), that the owner may obtain it in the mat.

Do not eat a hare.

If you make any mistakes in anything, you go back to the " law " i.e. instruction.

If you eat a hare, you die there (i.e. on the spot)"

When he comes out of the (dove) house, a heifer is chosen, three years old. He runs hard, in order to catch it. If he catches it, he is a man. If he does not, he goes back to the " law " again.

[171] *Note :* Mattit, the other informant added : *Ankwe ha !94 e, tkje daxa daraki,* " since the white men (the English) have come, the dove has ceased."

When this version was tested, by getting Mattit to relate his facts, he only added : (i) that the ox's entrails were burnt and the fat melted ; (ii) (among the " laws,") Do not tell a lie ; Do not steal ; Do not do anything wrong."

Version B : from *Tsholi*, February 1932.

daxa ‖ae ka e: qʰâni. ‖ae ‖aki ka ‖khoekhoe ka ka ‖ae gomaxe ‖kxoe !94 ‖kae. ‖ae gaxuse/ tki gʰâb ‖khâba ǂâb.

‖ae ‖kaaib ǂâb/

ta e ‖aeb ‖ae ka.ae ae ‖akka aaseb ‖kaxe.
ta e ‖kae qʰâ.
ta e ‖aeb ‖ae ka/ ‖aixe tixta ǂâb e.
ta e ‖gaka qʰâb. e a ka ‖khâba ‖kaxe.
‖ka gai ‖khoekhoe ‖gaka qʰâp.
‖aixe ‖aeb ‖ae ‖gaka qʰâb e, ‖ka ‖kaxe, ‖ae ‖kaka e: qʰâni.
‖ae ga.xe di ‖aeb ka‖aixi, ‖ae qʰga ‖e, ‖ae ae,
‖ae ‖akkae ‖ka e ‖aka ‖ae. ‖aexe ka e, ‖ka qʰga ‖e kaxe e, ‖aka.
‖ae aaxe kaxiae ‖akae e: ‖kaikakae. ǂ ‖gare, ‖ka aaka ka: e, ka‖aaxe.
‖ka ka: ‖aexe ka e, ‖ka ‖kaka e: qʰâni.

Translation :

He is taken into the dove. Old men look after him. When they go and meet the cows, (the boy drinks milk). He is given a kiri and an assegai (knife).

Then the " laws " are given.

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Do not light your pipe in a fire in the veld.

If you see anything sick in the veld, do not look at its feet. Bring it to the stad. The old men will look at its feet. If you look at its feet in the veld, you have transgressed, you must go back.

Then the fat of sheep is drunk. Then he is called. He answers. Then stones are struck in his ear. If he is far and he is called, he hears.

A nine year old heifer is picked, he chases it. If he catches its tail, he is a man. If he does not catch it, he is brought back to the "law."

Notes:

The *dore* ceremony. For an analysis of the accounts concerning the Nama ceremony and the sources, see Schapera, The *Khoisan Peoples*, pp. 279-280. Olpp has given the most detailed account for the Namas. Schapera omits all reference to the Korana ceremonies throughout this part of his work.

For the Koranas, see

(i) Wikar, in G. M. II pp. 103-104.

(ii) Campbell, 1820, II p. 346.

(iii) Wuras. Ms. (1858) published in *Bantu Studies*, iii, p. 291-293.

(iv) Backhouse, p. 118.

(v) Meinhof, p. 17-18 and 66-67.

It is the first time that the full *dore* ceremony is given in Korana. Meinhof has published a Korana text of the "laws" and has given a short description of the ceremony in German. Campbell merely says: "They have no rite of circumcision like the Bechuanas and the Mantung nations; but when a boy comes upon a state of manhood, a feast called Dooro is made according to the circumstances of the father. Sometimes eight or ten oxen are slain upon such an occasion."

By far the fullest account for the Koranas is Wuras'. His facts tally with those set out in the two texts above. There are however one or two essential points in which Wuras differs:

(a) the fat is rubbed on the boy's body, not drunk.

(b) the "*dook*, the very act of reception," as his version has it, consists of three parts: (i) "the knocking of the ears," which corresponds to the knocking of the stones in our text; (ii) nine cuts on the body and nine cuts on the chest of the initiate; (iii) the "laws" given to him.

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[68] *Tsâsib* was very insistent, that the boy drank the fat and that may be symbolical of the cleansing, here inwardly as well as outwardly. He was also very definite on the question of the cuts: *dare hoe ǂgorihoe ke tama*, "in the *dare* there are no cuts." On these two points, when I questioned him after having told his story, I could get no other answer. The other old men questioned separately, confirmed *Tsâsib*. The cuts will appear later, as we shall see. They all agreed that the *gnaiǂi*, the "reed pipes" and dancing went on during the *dare*. The "laws" given by Warms are slightly different and not so full.

[77] The *dare* is now extinct. The introduction of Christianity killed it, but it was still practised in the middle of last century, as is testified by the following statement of Andries, a councillor of Moseme Rijs Tsatlouw at the Witgatfontein meeting (1869), "The Korannas instruct their children, when still young, in their laws and customs." (B.C. 290).

The ǂgam ǁhoaiǂ ceremony.

[88] [324] *Hoe dire xami khamma ǂkoroe a, hoe ǁhoaiǂ di ǂkam, hoe gromoe ǂkam, ǂgorihoe mahe ǁkhe: kaǂai ǁhoaiǂ.*

Translation:

If he has shot an animal like a lion, and they go on for us to tell his uncle, cuts are killed and his uncle puts cuts on his body.

Tsâsib explained that the cuts were on the shoulders downwards on to the abdomen and on the abdomen, stretching horizontally from the navel. No charcoal dust was rubbed in. *Matiti* and *Tsâsib* confirmed. They all agreed that it was after this test of manliness, the first killing of a large wild animal, that the cuts were made, and that it was, as it were, a continuation of the process of initiation, the catching of the calf in the *dare* being merely a substitute for the real completion of the ceremony. A casual remark of Mrs. Hoernlé in her "Contribution on the Juns" (p. 70) has been interpreted by Schapera (*op. cit.* p. 309) as implying that the *dare* and this ceremony are but one. Here, in the data given by *Tsâsib* and his old associates, we have full confirmation of this, in spite of Schapera's fear that time was past to obtain such confirmation.

Warms (*op. cit.* p. 203) describes the rite under the name of ǂgamkoa & She did not collect any information about its inner significance.

The ǁkaiǂi, the Girl's Puberty Ceremony.

[88] [324] *ǁkaiǂi ke ke a, ǂkoa di ǁkaiǂi, hoe ǂkaiǂi dikoe, hoe ǂkaroka mahi gridoe, hoe ǂkoaa mai kaǂam ǁkaiǂi dikoe, hoe hoaa ǂkoa, ne dama gaise ǂgaiha*

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tama, ǂ ǁkaoxe tama, tsa ŋǂkoa: ta o, ǁkoa mā kʰ'ae ǁaka ŋǂkoa se, joe SW
gai khoxe ǂani. 539

tha ta o, tha ŋǂa koa tsa o, tsa ǁkhab ga.b mā, tsa ga.b ŋǂae, tsa a.b
ǂae ǂamtakoxe, tsa ŋǂgama ǂse saka dia ǂaibi, tsa gai khoxe skoie, tsa gai
mādi tsa kaba, tsa ǁkhoxe di ǂkarab a.e, tsa ǂkarab ǁkoa ŋǂkoaxe, ǁnaib
ǁkoa tsa arre, tsa are tsa tha o, tsa ǁaraba ŋǂkoaxe, tsa ǂaraba ǁkaba
ǁkaba, tsa aiba tkkoaxe.

tsa ga.b ta skoie o, tsa ǂarexe koina khoradi ŋǂae, tsa ǂkā.b ǁkoa,
ǁkabb tsi ŋǂxaxexe toikoa arae, tsa ǂaradi ǁka.e.

tsa gai khoreri koa kaxare-khoa ǂke tsi xare ǂaib toikoa, tsa xare ǁkaxae.

tsa ǂgaraba a: ŋǂkae, ǂ mai kois a.ka, tsa ka ǂaixa o, tsa ŋǂgaqp a.e, tsa
ŋǂgaraba ka ka ǂkarae tsi ŋǂgaiskhoa a kʰ'ai ǂkarae, tsa ǁna.ka ǁgamma
kʰ'ae ǂaa mba, ǁkaraba kʰ'ai mba, tsa ka: koina ŋǂxaxae, tsa kʰ'ai xaria.

tsa ǁ kkiba ǂkoa ǂkā, tsa gai khoradi ǁnae, tsa ǁam, tsa ŋǂna:.

Translation:

When the time comes, the puberty ceremony of the young girl, a mat is made for her. A mat is put in. A separate door is made for her. She sits quietly. She does not look at things too much. She does not scratch herself. When she goes out, she goes out by the separate door. An old woman looks after her. When the ceremony is finished, the brother gives a sheep. The sheep is killed, his throat is cut over a hole. The blood is gathered in a wooden vessel. It is cooked by an old woman. The old women eat it all up. The mist is drawn out of the entrails. She is rubbed with the mist. It is rubbed off with fat. [304]
Then red ochre is again rubbed. Then *dib* (a perfumed powder) is sprinkled (over) her.

When the sheep is cooked, it is eaten by the healthy women. Then she (i.e. the girl) is clothed with a back-kaross and a fore-kaross and a wrapping kaross and beads are put round her neck.

Then the old woman touches (with her) everything and the grindstone also and they grind together.

Then she is taken to the river. The old woman gets a little stick. When she has it, she takes some clay, she (the girl), is rubbed with this clay and her thighs are rubbed all over. She is placed on the edge of the water, she is made to kneel on her knees. It (the water), is struck with this little stick. She is sprinkled all over. Then she returns to the mat. The old women sing and clap their hands and dance.

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Note: Henceforth, explained *Ju* and *Mok*, she ceased to be a *Jhoa* and became an outsider, until her marriage when she became a *tsoa* or wife. *Ju* added that they were too poor nowadays to keep up such an elaborate ritual, which sometimes lasted for months.

This ceremonial has been described extremely briefly for the Korana by Wuras (loc. cit.) For the Naman, see Schapera (op. cit. p. 272-279) who analyses all the previous accounts and gives his sources as usual. The fullest Nama description is that of Mrs. Haeriäl (*Harvard African Studies*, ii. pp. 70-74). Her account substantially agrees with the above text. It contains a full timing of the proceedings and lays stress on the festivities and other details. There is in both accounts the same symbolical return to the household duties and the same renewal of the initiate's contact with water after her long period of impurity and seclusion, as well as her inability to do the normal things of life, while she is cut off from her fellow creatures. Likewise the sacramental meal is restricted to women and only to women who are free from their periods.

The *ubi* spoken of in the Korana text is a sweet-smelling powder. Khois brought me some and she and *Ju* separated its constituent elements. They are as follows: (i) *Jhaup*; (ii) *Jui ubi*, a green lichen growing on stones; (iii) *Jhawâ*, "veld bitters," roots only; (iv) *Jhu Jhâb*; (v) *Ijaushâ* grows in vleis, only found at Wayerstone on the Vaal in winter; and lastly the *Jhaushâ* root, of the colour of the earth, and reduced to small pieces. The mixture must smell sweet (*Ijhâ Jhaw*). The women use it not only as described above, but also on their armpits and to rub babies with.

It might be well to add the few words I have collected about their marriage. No more elaborate ceremonies now exist. In former times, twenty cows, they said, were killed for the festivities, which were accompanied by the *ghanâ* and dancing. The *ubi gomas* was given to the mother of the bride by the bridegroom and the young bride was welcomed with more festivities and dancing into the bridegroom's kraal. When a child was born a *Jhaoa Jhaoa gomah*," an ox for the newborn children" was given to the mother, if a boy was born. If a girl, a cow was given, *Jhaoa Jhaoa gomas*.

The life history of *Ju*

gui Jhaub kuriâ hoa Ju hja Jhâmah kâ'ai Jhaoa ha. dhja Jhaub Jhaoa kâ'amâma 'gu kâ'ai. Jhaoa Jhaoa, kâ'amâma Jhaushâ na dhja ha. dhja Jhaushâ Jhâb na dhi, dhja tamakhaumâ Ijaurâ hoa Jhâbaa di Jhaoa Jhaoa.

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22. Another custom, common to Khoikhoi, Bushmen and Berg-Damara—of whom the latter have entirely adopted the Khoikhoi language and manners—is the practice of cutting off a finger. This is done even to new-born children who are not a day old. As all sicknesses are expected to come from ǂGaunа, or from his servants, the practitioners of witchcraft, it appears that this custom is a kind of sacrifice or offering to ǂGaunа; and we are entitled to conclude that, in very remote times, human sacrifice must have been practised by the Hottentot race. 304 771 753 776 782 796

23. If a woman's or young girl's breasts itch, they say: "My son, my cousin, or some near relation, will soon arrive." 827

24. If a cow, during the night commences to groan in her sleep, the next morning she is caught, and a piece of skin, just above the nose, is cut, so that it hangs down in the shape of an *ear-ring* or *ear-drops*. If this be neglected, the owner of the cow soon will die. 825 741

25. If a girl becomes of age, or if a wedding is to be celebrated, nothing but cows and sheep-ewes may be slaughtered; and if any other cattle is killed the couple is sure to live unhappy. The fattest cow or the finest young heifer is chased about the place by the young men, and thrown with stones and beaten with clubs, until she is so exhausted and trembling with fear that she allows everybody to come near and touch her. If she still should kick and show fight, it is a sure sign that the marriage will be a continuation of fights and quarrels between husband and wife. 825 787

26. The girl or girls who have become of age must, after the festival, run about in the first thunderstorm, but they must be quite naked, so that the rain which pours down washes the whole body. The belief is that they will get fruitful and have a large offspring. I have on three occasions witnessed this running in the thunder-rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning. This was among the ǂKamiǂnas, on the banks of the Goiib 811

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881 river, among the Gei ǂKhaoas at ǂNuis, and among the ǂOgois, on the banks of the ǂKhaun river. I am, however, assured that even young converts, if they have become of age, absent themselves to outlying places away from the mission stations, to have their bodies washed by the waters of the thunder-clouds.

848 261 27. Also, if a woman during her pregnancy eats of the meat of the lion or leopard, her child will have the characteristics of these animals—ferocity, celerity, swiftness, and strength. They also consider the drinking of lion and panther blood as having influence on the nature of a person or on the child in the mother's womb. A woman lost her temper, and was very cruel to her slave. I spoke to her, and asked whether she did not, as a mistress (lady, gnitaras), feel ashamed of herself. She said, she could not help it; I must scold her mother, who once drank panther blood in order to get ferocious children.

626 631 28. A great influence is also attached to the power of an imprecation or curse. If one had a quarrel with a Khoikhoi, there is nothing more painful to him than not to be talked to. He will come repentingly and apologize, until he hears the word "Stago," I have forgiven; and to show his gratitude, he will bring a present—be it a sheep or a cow or whatsoever he may afford to give.

I once had a very unpleasant quarrel with a Namaqua; perhaps he was more in fun, and it was a misunderstanding on my side. Anyhow, I got vexed, and said: "I shall never forget what you have done, and mind what you are about. I will have my day, too; do not think that, because I am the only white man here, that you will get the best of me?" He laughed, and thought that I was in fu.. I, however, left. A year after he met me on the road in another part of the country; and when he saw that I greeted his friends but did not notice him, he at once borrowed from one of his mates a cow, and said to me: "Take this, and forgive me; but don't be angry any further—I can't bear it." I accepted his apology, and told him to keep the cow. But